

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01

SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 DODE-00 NSC-05

ACDA-05 BIB-01 CU-02 /086 W
----- 115046

R 101100Z JUN 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3599

INFO USMISSION NATO

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 4318

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE PFOR XG

SUBJECT: CSCE: CBM'S: TURKISH AND SOVIET EXEMPTIONS FOR AREA
OF APPLICATION OF MANEUVERS MEASURE

REF: GENEVA 4089

1. SUMMARY: ALTHOUGH ALL CSCE PARTICIPANTS ARE PREPARED
TO ACCEPT PRINCIPLE OF SWEDISH TEXT, WHICH IS INTENDED TO
ENSURE APPLICATION OF KMANEUVER CBM TO SEACOASTS OF COUNTRIES
WITH TERRITORY BEYOND EUROPE, SOVIET AND TURKISH CONDITIONS
FOR ACCEPTANCE ARE NOT RECONCILABLE. ALLIED SUBGROUP
INCLUDING UK AND FRG IS WORKING WITH TURKISH REPS TOWARD
MODIFICATION OF TURKISH CONDITIONS, IN HOPES THAT AN
ALTERNATIVE TO SWEDISH TEXT MAY BRIDGE CURRENT GAP. END SUMMARY.

2. SINCE REF A, IT HAS BECOME CLEAR THAT ALL SUBCOMMITTEE
REPS, INCLUDING SOVIETS AND TURKS, CAN ACCEPT IN PRINCIPLE
THE PROPOSED SWEDISH APPROACH TO ENSURE THAT NOTIFICATION
OF MANEUVERS SHOULD BE GIVEN IN COASTAL AREAS OF USSR AND TURKEY
FACING OTHER CSCE PARTICIPANTS, AS WELL AS ALONG BORDERS WITH
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OTHER STATES. TO PIN DOWN SOVIETS IN

KKMEANING OF TEXT IN PARA 4 OF REFTTEL, CANADIAN REP IN
FORMAL SUBCOMMITTEE MEETING SUGGESTED REPLACING
"TERRITORIAL BORDERS" WITH THE WORD "FRONTIERS," SINCE
SOVIETS HAD AGREED IN SESSIONS LAST YEAR THAT "FRONTIERS"
COULD BE INTERPRETED IN CBM CONTEXT TO CINCLUDE SEACOASTS.
SWEDES ACCEPTED THIS AMENDMENT, AND ALSO AGREED TO CON-
SIDER ALTERNATIVES TO THE WORD "FACING," WHICH IN UK
VIEW MIGHT CAUSE COMPLICATIONS WITH LEGAL INTERPRETATION.

3. HOWEVER, IT HAS ALSO BECOME CLEAR FROM CORRIDOR DIS-
CUSSIONS THAT SOVIET AND TURKISH CONDITIONS ON ACCEPTANCE IN
PRINCIPLE OF SWEDISH TEXT ARE IRRECONCILABLE.
SOVIETS HAVE PRIVATELY STIPULATED THAT THEIR ACCEPTANCE
IS CONDITIONAL ON TURKISH ACKNOWLEDGEMENT THAT THE
SWEDISH TEXT APPLIES EQUALLY TO USSR AND TURKEY. TURKISH
ACCEPTANCE, IN CONTRAST, IS CONDITIONAL ON INCLUSION IN THE
AREA TEXT OF AN ADDITIONAL SENTENCE WITH "AN EXCEPTION
TO THE EXCEPTION" FOR TURKEY. TURKS INSIST THAT THIS
ADDITIONAKL SENTENCE SHOULD COVER TWO POINTS: (A) THAT
ZONE FOR NOTIFICATION IN TURKISH COASTAL AREAS WILL BE
PROPORTIONAL TO RATHER THAN EQUAL TO ZONE IN SOVIET TERRI-
TORY; AND (B) THAT TURKEY WILL ALSO BE EXEMPT FROM OBLI-
GATORY NOTIFICATION IN MAJOR SOUTHERNPORT AREAS, AND
ALONG FRONTIERS WITH NON-PARTICIPATING STATES. AS OUT-
LINED BY TURKISH REP IN ALLIKED CAUCUS, THE ADDITIONAL
SENTENCE WOULD BE ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES: "IN THE
CASE OF TURKEY, NOTIFICATION WILL BE GIVEN...(NOT
MORE THAN 100) KMS. FROM FRONTIERS, EXCEPT IN AREAS
ADJACENT TO FRONTIERS WITH NON-PARTICIPATING STATES."
WHEN PRESSED BY FRG REP IN CAUCUS TO EXPLAIN MEANING
AND MEASUREMENT OF "AREAS ADJACENT TO FRONTIERS WITH
NON-PARTICIPATING STATES," TURKISH REP REPLIED THAT
THIS PHRASE WOULD EXCLUDE OBLIGATORY NOTIFICATION IN
A ZONE AT LEAST 200 KMS. FROM THE TURKISH FRONTIER WITH
SYRIA, IRAQ AND IRAN, THUS IN EFFECT EXCLUDING
TURKISH SOUTHERN SEACOAST UP TO AND BEYOND THE IMPORTANT
PORTS OF MERSIN AND ISKENDERUN FACING CYPRUS.

4. GREEK REP HAS BEEN PASSIVE OR ABSENT DURING RECENT
DISCUSSIONS OF THIS ISSUE, OTHER ALLIES DO NOT WISH
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TO ABANDON TURKEY COMPLETELY, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT NOT
ONLY THE NEED FOR ALLIED SOLIDARITY, BUT ALSO THE FACT
THAT THE TURKS HAVE OBVIOUS POLITICAL REASONS FOR THEIR POSITION.
HOWEVER, NONE OF THE ALLIES IS WILLING TO BACK ALL OF
TURKISH CONDITIONS EITHER, NOR IS IT LIKELY THAT THERE
WOULD BE ANY CONSENSUS AT CONFERENCE EVEN IF ALLIES
WERE TO SUPPORT TURKEY FULLY. IN ORDER TO MEET
TURKS HALF WAY, UK AND FRG, WITH SUPPORT FROM MOST

OTHERS, HAVE INDICATED THAT THEY UNDERSTAND STRONG
TURKISH DESIRE TO ACHIEVE DE FACTO EXCLUSION OF STRATEGIC
PORT AREAS ON SOUTHERN COAST FROM NOTIFICATION
OBLIGATION AND WOULD BE WILLING TO GO ALONG WITH SUCMODUS BIVENDI WIT
H OTHERS AT THE CON-
FERENCE (I.E., CYPRUS) COULD BE FOUND. ON OTHER
HAND, UK AND FRKG HAVE ALSO SAID THEY COULD NOT
UNDERSTAND OR SUPPORT THE NEEDS FOR TURKS TO HAVE AN
EXCLUSION IN CENTRAL ANATOLIA AS WELL. TURKISH REP SAID
HIS INSTRUCTIONS PROVIDED NO RATIONALE FOR EXCLUSION OF
CENTRAL ANATOLIA, EXCEPT THAT REASONS WERE "MILITARY,"
BUT THAT HE HAD NO FLEXIBILITY TO MODIFY TURKISH
POSITION.

5. MOTIVE OF FRG AND UK IN PRESSING TURKS TO ABANDON
IDEA OF EXCLUDING CENTRAL ANATOLIA IS CONTINUED HOPE
THAT A SINGLE FORMULATION FOR USSR AND TURKISH EXCEPTIONS
MIGHT STILL BE FOUND, SO AS TO PROVIDE BASIS FOR GENERALLY
ACCEPTABLE RESULT. FRG HAS PROVATELY SHOWN US FOLLOWING
POSSIBLE SINGLE-SENTENCE SOLUTION: "IN CASE OF TERRI-
TORY OF A PARTICIPATING STATES EXTENDS BEYOND EUROPE,
PRIOR NOTIFICATION NEED NOT BE GIVEN BEYON...KMS
'WHATEVER COMPROMISE FIGURE IS AGREED WITH THE SOVIETS)
FROM ITS EUROPEAN FRONTIERS, NOR IN ANY CASE WITHIN
...KMS. (SAME AS PREVIOUS FIGURE) FROM ITS FRONTIERS
WITH NON-PARTICIPATING STATES." IN THIS FORMULA,
FRG REP EXPLAINED THAT REFERENCE TO FRONTIERS WOULD BE
CONSIDERED TO COVER SEACOASTS, AS IN PROPOSAL FOR AMENDING
SWEDISH TEXT. WITH AGREEMENT BY SOVIETS ON 250 OR 300 KMS.,
EFFECT OF FRG TEXT ON TURKEY WOULD BE TO VOER ALL OF
CENTRAL ANATOLIA. HOWEVER, STRATEGIC TURKISH COASTAL
AREAS WOULD BE EXEMPT FROM LAST CLAUSE. (FRG TEXT DOES
NOT EFFECTIVELY EXCLUDE ARTIC COASTAL REGIONS OF USSR,
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AS SWEDISH TEXT DOES, BUT THIS IS A POINT ON WHICH ALL
COULD AGREE AND EDITORIAL REVISION TO INCORPORATE
IT SHOULD NOT BE DIFFICULT.)

6. FRG, UK AND NORWEGIAN REPS WILL MEET WITH TURKISH
DELEGATION ON JUNE 10 AS A NATO CAUCUS SUBCOMMITTEE
ON AREA, AND WILL AT THAT TIME PURUSE FRG IDEA WITH
TURKS. NORWEGIAN REP IS ALSO CARRYING ON PRIVATE CON-
VERSATIONS WWITH CYPRUS REP, IN HOPES THAT A COMPROMISE
CAN BE REACHED PROMPTLY AMONG WESTERN DELEGATIONS, WITHOUT
INVITING SOVIETS INTO THE QUARREL. WE WILL REPORT
FURTHER ON DEVELOPMENTS ON AREA ISSUE AFTER THIS
MEETING. DALE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: COLLECTIVE SECURITY, CBMS, ARMED FORCES, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 10 JUN 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: CunninFX
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975GENEVA04318
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750202-0013
From: GENEVA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750666/aaaachqd.tel
Line Count: 167
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 75 GENEVA 4089
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: CunninFX
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 09 APR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <09 APR 2003 by ElyME>; APPROVED <22 SEP 2003 by CunninFX>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CSCE: CBM'S: TURKISH AND SOVIET EXEMPTIONS FOR AREA OF APPLICATION OF MANEUVERS MEASURE
TAGS: PFOR, XG, CSCE
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006